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ABSTRACT

A literature survey is undertaken for the purpose of identifying and examining cultural differences between black and white Americans, with a major focus upon the black lower-class Northern urban-dweller. Major emphasis is placed upon the institutions of the Negro family and religion, as being moderator variables which help to account for various aspects of the black culture and which are in part a reflection of the culture. Some of the areas of culture difference emphasized are the problem of identity and many of the values associated with work and the Protestant Ethic and puritanism: the value of work as an end in itself, the importance of time, attitude toward authority, lack of competitiveness, ability to defer gratification, and lack of motivation to increase education and income, The second part of the paper examines the literature relevant to social class distribution and the role of skin color and other criteria of social class membership. Value difference between members of the various Negro social classes are also looked at. The paper stresses the importance of empirical verification of the findings reported in the presence of a highly dynamic change process taking place within the black community. Investigating the problem of whether the problems of the Negro are of a class or of a race type requires multi-variable approaches. (Author/JM)

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Illinois Studies of the Economically Disadvantaged

CULTURE DIFFERENCES AND SOCIAL CLASS IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

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Preface

This is the first report in a new series which will be concerned with the economically disadvantaged. We plan to test the assumption that economic disadvantages create characteristic ways of perceiving and thinking about the social environment. We call such characteristic perceptions the "subjective culture" of a particular group. We expect to find characteristic differences in the subjective cultures of blacks and whites who differ in level of economic advantage. We suspect that such differences in subjective culture lead to major barriers in communication between an employee and his supervisors, his fellow employees and his subordinates. Our plan is to determine the differences in subjective culture, by employing a battery of newly developed procedures, tailormade to detect cultural differences; we then plan to incorporate this information in specially designed training programs; finally, we hope to test the effectiveness of these training programs by examining the effects of training on employee satisfaction, turnover, absenteeism, and similar measures of occupational stability.

Mr. Symonds' report provides the benchmark for the first set of studies. Before beginning our examination of black and white subjective cultures we wanted to know what some of the major analysts of black culture have published in recent years. The report reviews the older studies and summarizes their major arguments. In the process of our data collection we plan to test many of the assumptions that can be found in the social science literature, summarized by Mr. Symonds. We expect that many of the arguments that are to be found in this report are out of date, but the report provides a point of departure for our examination of black culture.

In short, Mr. Symonds has provided a convenient summary of some of the social science literature concerned with black culture which has been published up to about 1969. Future reports will refer back to this one, as we find discrepancies from previous research and suggestions about recent changes.

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Abstract

A literature survey is undertaken for the purpose of identifying and examining cultural differences between black and white Americans, with a major focus upon the black lower-class Northern urban-dweller. Major emphasis is placed upon the institutions of the Negro family and religion, as being moderator variables which help to account for various aspects of the black culture and which are in part a reflection of the culture. Some of the areas of culture difference emphasized are the problem of identity and many of the values associated with work and the Protestant Ethic (respectability, aspirations, etc.) and puritanism.

The second part of the paper examines the literature relevant to social class distribution and the role of skin color and other criteria of social class membership. Value difference between members of the various Negro social classes are also looked at. The paper stresses the importance of empirical verification of the findings reported, in the presence of a highly dynamic change process taking place within the black community.

CULTURE DIFFERENCES AND SOCIAL CLASS IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY[1]

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This paper constitutes a review of some of the literature relevant to the Negro culture. The report is divided into two sections. The first will deal with general differences between the black and white cultures. The second section will present a discussion of social class differences within the Negro culture. While the analysis of black and white culture differences is basically relevant to the Negro generally, where specificity occurs, the discussion is directed to the northern-urban-lower-class Negro.

The southern, largely rural, Negro differs in many respects from his northern-urban counterpart. Apart from the more overt segregation in much of the South compared with the somewhat covert treatment of the Negro in the North, there are also societal structural differences. The southern rural economy leads to a different family structure than that present in the northern ghettos. Negroes in the rural areas have been able to maintain, to a large extent, the nuclear family structure that is also dominant in the white culture, in which the male continues to have a relatively important role in the economy, and maintains an integral function in the family (Rainwater, 1965). As we shall see shortly, this is not always the case in the North, a factor that is of considerable importance in accounting for much of the difference between the Negro and white cultures. While there is evidence that the situation in the South is changing (Zanden, 1965), it is felt that there is sufficient difference between the two ecological regions to warrant identifying the report as directly relevant only to the northern-urban Negro.

This is in no way intended to suggest that the southern Negroes should be ignored. On the contrary, their situation is at least as difficult as that of the northerner and may in the near future develop into a position of overt social strain far in excess of that in the North. It may be that some of this report is also relevant to the condition of the southern Negro, however, the large body of literature reviewed has dealt with the southern Negro mainly as a means of obtaining an historical perspective by which to analyze the situation of the northern Negro.

A further reservation is that little attention is to be paid to the "black power" movement in this paper. There are several reasons for this approach. First, the black power movement is a very new phenomenon, dating back probably not much more than a decade, and only a few years in its most militant form. There has hardly been time to study, analyze, report, publish and digest the direction and effects of this movement. Secondly, there is evidence that only a minority of the total black population is actively involved in the movement and this involvement is inversely related to age. It is of course understood that this in no way vitiates against the importance of the movement or its ultimate effects upon society, however, there is still a large proportion of the black population that would seem to be relatively unaffected by the philosophy of the movement and still are representative of the culture norms of the past. A third reason for ignoring the most recent events in the black society is that it is difficult to explore and analyze directions of change without a firm knowledge of the past as a basis from which to start analysis. It is hoped that this review will provide at least a sufficiently firm footing as a jumping off place for future research. Every concept reported in this review is thus open to the challenge of empirical justification in the present day. The review is designed to

summarize major important differences between whites and blacks that have existed up to a decade ago, as reported in the literature, and which may still be real. Only future research can justifiably contradict the observations and research of the past.

Throughout this report when the word "Negro" is used, it will refer specifically to the typical northern-urban-lower-class, ghetto dweller who is not an active member or leader of any militant Black Power organization. It is important that these reservations be stated and appreciated as it must be clearly realized that we are not dealing with a large, amorphous, homogeneous mass when we speak of the Negro culture. There is, of course, a general Negro culture just as there is a typical American culture, but examination at this level is much too broad to be of any great usefulness in eliciting workable conceptual differences. Indeed, a large part of the problem existing between the white and black communities is the strong tendency among members of the white community towards general stereotyping of all members of the black community.

The Problem of Identity

One of the major problems facing the Negro today is his own lack of identity. The African-Negro was uprooted from his culture several centuries ago and sold into slavery. Here for most of his history he has been at best a second-class citizen. Most do not consider themselves Africans. Their ethnic heritage has been forgotten. However, at the same time their new society has refused to accept them as viable participants in the culture. Not only do they not have roots in a historical tradition, but their day-to-day interactions leave them confused as to just what their position is in society. As Silberman points out ".....every Negro must grapple with the universal 'who am I' in a way no white man can ever know. For always the

Negro must come up against the knowledge of the white world's distaste for him, and so always there remains a lingering doubt" (Silberman, 1964, p. 109). This aspect of the Negroes dilemma is evident in the fact that many Negro Americans are ambivalent as to what to call themselves. The Black Muslims violently object to the term Negro. It is felt that as this term was given them by the white slave owners it is necessarily derogatory. "Nigger" or "Nigra" are terms of great negative reinforcement when used by the white world but apparently "Nigger" is somewhat acceptable when used by another Negro (Rainwater, 1965, p. 192). Militant blacks however use it to refer to traitors. A few years ago, Rainwater suggested that "black" had generally a negative connotation, although it seems to be gaining in acceptability. Certainly today it is acceptable among the young militants. Some authors have suggested that "Negro-American" is more favorable than "American-Negro." This discussion indicates the fundamental question of identity: "the flight from blackness, the hatred of self, the yearning to be white" (Silberman, 1964, p. 114). Again, Hentoff (1964, p. 42) suggests that the concern of many Negroes for prideful, sometimes exaggerated racial identification, is a form of reaction formation resulting from the lack of identity.

Much of our own self-concept arises from our daily interactions with others. The way in which a person views himself is the way he will behave (Dollard, 1937). Our image of ourselves is learned (Sears, 1937; Whiting & Child, 1953). As our peers and those in authority evaluate us, so we learn to see ourselves. With a lack of identification and a history of being disliked by members of the dominant white culture, the Negro has learned to distrust and dislike himself and to accept the white man's evaluation of himself. In the words of Malcolm X, "The worst crime the white man has committed has been to teach us to hate ourselves." (Silberman, 1964, p. 68.)

There is considerable empirical data indicative of this self-hatred. In one study children were given this sentence to complete: "When I look at other boys and girls and then look at myself, I feel ------." Thirty per cent of the white children responded with an unfavorable judgment of themselves, whereas 80 per cent of Negro children responded in this manner. (Social class and economic level were held constant.) (Silberman, 1964, p. 115). Numerous Doll-play experiments have revealed similar results.

Dreger and Miller in a review of comparative personality studies, report projective test data revealing that Negroes identify better with white stimuli than with those showing Negroid characteristics; that Negroes generally tend to accept the white evaluation of skin color; that the Negro is much less positive towards his own race than is the white and that this negative self-concept begins in early childhood and increases through maturation. The authors conclude that "being a Negro in a white society seems to be one of the most important factors in (self-concept) development." (Dreger & Miller, 1960, p. 386)

In a pupper-play situation, Brady concluded that "many ..... Negro boys do have significant conflicts involving anxiety or guilt-laden wishes to be white rather than Negro." (Brady, 1963, p. 199).

One other study sheds more light on the identity conflict. Clinard and Noel (1958) observed and interviewed Negro college students who had attended a segregated junior college and those who had attended an integrated junior college. Both groups were now attending an integrated university. While there was no measurable change in amount of present class participation among students who had received prior integrated experience, the investigators determined that the Negroes from segregated schools who were now in an interracial school participated significantly less than they had done in their

segregated school and had a low estimation of what they thought white students expected of them in the classroom situation. In interviews those students reported that they expressed a fear of being humiliated and felt they must be more sure of themselves in the presence of white students.

All of this data adds up to the conclusion that the Negro suffers from a lack of identity and a measure of low self-esteem, almost to the level of self-hatred. Much of his actions and behavior can be interpreted in terms of this psychodynamic. One of the outcomes is the expression of apathy. The reasoning would seem to be, "What is the sense of trying to get a job and succeed, when you know you are worthless. You will only fail and confirm your self-doubts." Furthermore, the realities of discrimination confirm the expectations. As a result the Negro feels powerless and, therefore, often withdraws from the situation. Why try to succeed when you will probably fail? Instead, don't try. That way you will be failing because you did not try, not because you tried and were judged to be incompetent. In this way a small measure of self-esteem is preserved. While empirical evidence of this pattern of rationalization may be missing, there is considerable judtification for assuming it would follow. This hypothesis would be amenable to verification. It would be particularly relevant to investigate the changes in self-esteem and identity that are following in the footsteps of the present day "black is beautiful" philosophy.

This enforced apathy and withdrawal could account for the often observed entire syndrome of rejection of white middle-class values, most of which centers around the Protestant Ethic; the value of work as an end in itself, the importance of time, attitude towards authority, lack of competitiveness, ability to defer gratification, and lack of motivation to increase education and income. These aspects of Negro personality are extremely important in the work setting. They have direct relevance in motivating Negroes to find jobs and to stay on the job.

Thus far we have made rather sweeping generalizations regarding Negro attitudes and personality traits. We shall return to examine some of these concepts a little closer shortly, but first it is necessary to examine another major factor of Negro ghetto life. Much of our discussion of identity and self-concept falls under the general rubric of socialization. As the family is one of the major sources of socialization it would be useful to examine black family structure with the intent to see how the special aspects of the ghetto family contribute to the personality pattern of the Negro.

The Negro Family

This portion of the paper will draw heavily from two popular descriptions and evaluations of the Negro ghetto family. The first is Frazier's classic study of The Negro Family in the United States (Frazier, 1939). The second source is a much briefer, but nonetheless penetrating account of the Negro lower class family by Lee Rainwater (1965).

During the past few decades an overwhelming emphasis has been placed upon the matriarchical aspect of the Negro family structure. The fact that the Negro family in many cases was controlled by a strong domineering mother or grandmother, often in the absence of a father-husband, has been identified as the major factor of differentiation between the Negro and the white family. Numerous social scientists have stressed the importance of this basic difference in family structure and have attributed to it a causal explanation for many of the ills of the black community in the United States, such as black delinquency, the emasculation of the male, and a general lack of a coherent social organization. When not evoked as a causal relationship, the existence of the mother-centered family has been condemned as a dysfunctional accommodation to the subjugation of the black man. In short the concept of the matriarchy is perhaps one of the most discussed ideas in the literature analyzing the status and role of the black man in America.

An early proponent of the pervasiveness of the Negro matriarchy (Frazier, 1939) has stated the 1940 census revealed that in urban areas of the southern states "31.1% of the Negro families were without male heads, while the proportion for rural-nonfarm areas was 22.5% and for rural farm areas 11.7%" (p. 103). Edwards (1963) summarizes the census data relevant to family structure for all Negroes. According to the 1960 data, Negroes constituted 9.4% of all United States families. They comprised only 7.9% of all U. S. families with both parents present. However, the Negro families accounted for 21.0% of all U. S. families with a female head. While this data depicts the structure of the Negro family generally, it is not an accurate representation of the ghetto family. Rainwater states that in 1960, 47% of the Negro poor urban families with children had a female head. He goes on to state that "...it seems very likely that as many as two-thirds of Negro urban poor children will not live in families headed by a man and a woman throughout the first eighteen years of their lives" (Rainwater, 1965, p. 169). Bernard (1966) indicates that 23.7% of all Negro families were headed by women in 1940. By 1960 the size had increased to 27.1% (p. 14). Billingsley (1968) cites 1960 census data to the effect that 79% of all Negro families were headed by men wheras 94% of all white families had male heads. Billingsley further points out a differentiation by income. Of those families whose income was under $3,000 only 64% of families were headed by a man, whereas 93% of families whose income was over $3,000 were headed by a man. Similar studies point to a differentiation by other criteria of socio-economic status.

Several important points are to be gathered from this data. It seems evident that probably about 25% of all Negro families are headed by females, and that the absence of a male head is inversely related to socio-economic status. Obviously the extent of female-headed families is greater among Negroes than among whites. However, this difference is not always as great as

has been imagined. For example, while 64% of Negro families with incomes below $3,000 are male-headed, the figure increases only to 78% for similarly situated white families (Billingsley, 1968) When we compare the figures for urban low-income families the Negro figure drops to 53% and the white figure drops to 62%. Clearly the phenomenon of the absent male is not restricted to black families. Another point that bears emphasis is that the female-headed family is in no way to be considered as the norm for black families. Perhaps in the lowest income, poorest depths of the ghetto the number of female headed families approaches 50%, but for the Negro community generally approximately three-quarters of all families are intact, that is have both a male and female head. This last point has often been overlooked in analysis of the Negro family. Parenthetically, there is a Negro family arrangement which is virtually totally ignored; the male-headed family in which the female is absent. The U. S. Census for 1960 identifies 44,000 Negro families headed by males who were not married and not living with other relatives.

A further inadequacy of the dichotomy of male and female headed families is argued by Billingsley. He indicates that such a conceptualization underestimates the variations that do exist among Negro families. He identifies three basic types of family structure: nuclear, extended, and augmented. He further sub-classifies these three into twelve basic family types depending upon the presence or absence of either household head and other household members including children, other relatives and nonrelatives. There is a further breakdown of these categories based on the circumstances for the absence of either spouse. "Ten specific subtypes may be derived, depending upon whether the single parent is male or female and whether he or she is (a) single; (b) married, with an absent spouse; (c) legally separated; (d) divorced; or (e) widowed" (Billingsley, p. 19).

In summary, Billingsley has this to say:

"In every Negro neighborhood of any size in the country, a wide variety of family structures will be represented. This range and variety does not suggest, as some commentaries hold, that the Negro family is falling apart, but rather that these families are fully capable of surviving by adapting to the historical and contemporary social and economic conditions facing the Negro people....In this context then the Negro family has proved to be an amazingly resilient institution." (p. 21)

Implicit in the discussion of Negro family structure is the value judgment that the nuclear family with both parents present is the ideal family form. Billingsley (1968) reports two studies that indicate that such an arrangement may not encompass the majority of American families even among whites. Paul C. Glick found that in 1953 only 28.6 per cent of household units consisted of a husband and wife and their own minor children (Glick, 1957). And a study in 1965 in Richmond, California, by Alan Wilson, found that 45 per cent of white families and 49 per cent of Negro families consisted of husband and wife and their own children (Wilson, 1965). Thus, the ideal family pattern, the simple nuclear family, may not be any more common among whites than it is among Negroes (p. 18).

Whatever the actual situation may be, there is considerable evidence that the matriarchal family is an important factor at least among a significant proportion of ghetto black families.

Not only is the father-husband often not present, but in a very large number of cases the male head of the house at any one time is not necessarily the father or husband and is acknowledged by all members of the family as a transient, temporary member of the household.

The Negro wife accepts the husband or husband-surrogate only so long as he contributes economically to the maintenance of the household. This status of the male is not dependent so much on whether he is working, but rather on whether his presence is accompanied by money. A husband who is on disability allowance may receive full status in the family, even though unemployed.

Marriage is not based so much on mutual love as upon economic considerations. Even when pregnant out of wedlock, the girl will not always marry the potential father of her child if she does not feel he will be a good provider. As a matter of fact quite often a girl in this condition will choose, from a number of lovers, the one whom she feels has the greatest income potential.

The entire system of dating in the ghetto is directed towards the expression of maturity, for both partners, but particularly for the girl. Marriage is not considered a necessary or even advisable outcome of the process. The ability to have a large number of members of the opposite sex as lovers is a measure of peer prestige for both men and women. However, pregnancy is not necessarily a signal that the girl must marry. Children born out of wedlock are easily assimilated into the girl's family. In the dominant white society <u>marriage</u> is often considered the societally legitimated indication of maturity and full status for a girl; <u>pregnancy</u> is often that sign in the Negro ghetto. In order to raise a family it is simply not necessary, albeit desirable, to have a man around the house.

To a large extent the family structure in the absence of a male head, reverts to a form of extended family, wherein the wife's relatives move in with the wife or she moves in with them. There is always someone available to raise the children while the mother works. As a result of this situation both boys and girls have a rather negative evaluation of marriage as well as

a low expectation that it will succeed. As Rainwater states, "When marriage does take place it tends to represent a tentative commitment on the part of both parties."

In the marriage the wife makes most of the decisions that keep the family going and has the greatest sense of responsibility towards the family. When the husband is out of work, the wife often feels he has no right to hang around the house, using its facilities, or demanding loyalty from her. It is at this time that the wife often starts sexual liasons with other men and the husband moves out to become one of the disappearing men. As Moynihan (1966, p. 149) has pointed out, census data shows a greater ratio of women to men during the years from 20-40, which restores itself after middle-age. Men seem to disappear in the ghetto for several decades of their lives.

A consequence of this system of family structure is the psychological emasculation of the male. His position of secondary or even tertiary importance to the family, combined with a virtual absence of truly masculine jobs available (most of the Negro male occupations are those of waiter, cook, servant, etc; typically female type occupations) provide the basis for a deep-rooted sex conflict within the Negro male. The white stereotype of him is that of a mysterious, oversexed, virile sex partner, and often much of his premarital sex life outwardly conforms to this stereotype. However, the realities of marriage often enforce upon him the role of an emasculated, virtually unnecessary burden on the family. A large amount of marriage instability in the ghetto may be a reflection of the frustration and conflict engendered by these two conflicting roles. At least two reactions to this situation are either a withdrawal from the situation into a fantasy world or a "machismo" reaction formation, somewhat similar to that of the Latin American in which the male overtly overemphasizes his manhood. This latter reaction, of course, contributes to the white stereotype, which in turn increases the original conflict.

Several writers have commented upon the lack of interest or concern of the Negro male for his family and wife. This is only partially the case. While it is undoubtedly a psychologically punishing experience for the male to have to assume an ineffectual role it does not necessarily follow that he casually deserts the home. Often the male appears at home only at night several nights a week to perform his husbandly sex role, only to leave early in the morning so as not to be there when the social worker comes to call. A woman and family is entitled to larger welfare benefits when she has been deserted by her husband, than when the husband is home, but unemployed (Hentoff, 1964, p. 58). This financial difference can be of great importance to a family in the ghetto. Hence, the institutional framework of the white society's welfare agencies works in this way to maintain the negro matriarchal society. It is with care that generalizations be made regarding the lack of familial contact and concern expressed by the Negro husband and father. The desertion statistics for the ghetto must be carefully scrutinized and interpreted in order to achieve a true understanding of the real situation.

Given the presence of a matriarchal family as one of the important variations of Negro family structure, it would be useful to look briefly at some of the consequences on the children. Numerous authors have described the conflict between the expressive and instrumental roles of the two parents, and the effect of the lack of the father's instrumental affect particularly on the male child being detrimental to the development of positive male identification. It is interesting that very little has been reported in the literature regarding the effect of the matriarchy on the development of the female children. The effect on a girl of being raised in a matriarchal family may have just as great importance upon the perpetuation of the patterns of cross-sex relationships that contribute to the continuation of the matriarchy. For example, a young girl who grows in a family atmosphere

in which the mother must fulfill both expressive and instrumental roles and sees her mother in a domineering, authoritarian role could readily learn this type of behavior as normative and becoming domineering and authoritarian in her sex relations with men when she matures. When she marries, the continual expression of this domination may be a major factor in accounting for the breakup of the family. It has been suggested often in the literature that the absence of the father makes the male child weak and passive and inadequately adapted to sustaining a stable familial pattern. Undoubtedly the effect is probably as great on the female as it is on the male children and both effects probably contribute to the consequence of the broken family.

Glaser and Navarre (1965) indicate some of the adverse consequences of the one-parent family. According to them, it lowers the effectiveness of the task structure in that it is more difficult for one parent to take over the parental tasks. There is also an apparent breakdown in the communication structure. The lack of parents of both sexes cuts down on the variety of inputs the children are exposed to. A third adverse factor is the over-emphasis of power placed on the parent. There is no opportunity for the child to trade off one parent against the other as he plays the role of tertius gaudens. Hence, the child's power is limited. There is also the threat to the affectional structure of the family in that the loss of the one remaining member often effectively destroys the group. The authors indicate that these factors lead to personality developments which tend to perpetuate the system.

Undoubtedly there is some measure of truth in this argument. There is, however, a different side to the picture of marital instability and the one-parent family. It is often stated that the role of the mother is made increasingly difficult by the low self-esteem and lack of identity of the male.

If the presence of a male is such a disruptive force on the family, is it not then functional for the man to leave? While there are problems created by his absence, there are probably also many problems of a different sort created by his presence. This would seem to be a fertile area for research. There is evidence that in one nationwide study, the children in disorganized families (those receiving support through the program of Aid to Dependent Families) had a lower level of delinquency than the national average, and a significant proportion of these children had received special awards or recognition of some kind (Burgess & Price, 1963). Apparently the disorganized unstable family does not have only a deleterious influence on the children. Some individuals thrive best under adverse conditions.

Careful delineation of the situation in the various Negro family structures is necessary to gain a more realistic understanding of the true circumstances in Black America. Certainly the stereotype of the matriarchal family ruled by a domineering mother in the absence of an ineffectual or passive father leading ultimately to the emasculation of the male children and the instrumentally oriented female children is overstated in the research data. King (1964) studied family power by analyzing the perceptions of over 1,600 adolescents and determined that the intact lower-class family can no longer be considered characteristically matriarchal. The Negro family, as is all Negro society, is in a highly dynamic situation. It is wise to approach the study of it without a large number of pre-conceived ideas regarding the rigidity of the structure and organization of the Negro family. It is diverse, varied and perpetually changing. Our ideas based on research and literature of the last two or three decades must give way in the light of more elucidating research that is more sophisticated and more aware of the many variables that go to make up the diversification of Negro family life.

Negro Religion

Before we examine individual conceptual differences it will be useful to look at one more Negro institution in order to get a clearer basis from which to generalize and from which to understand and analyze the Negro culture. The role of the church and religion has been one of great importance in the Negro community and of considerable difference to that of the white. Census figures reveal that in 1926 and 1936 approximately 75% of all Negro women were church members and 50% of Negro men (Davie, 1949). The 1963 Newsweek poll showed that 96% of all Negroes professed a faith. There are no figures readily available for ghetto church membership but it is extremely likely that the actual church membership is extremely high as Myrdal points out that by far the largest percentage of church members are found among the lower class Negroes (Myrdal, 1964).

The institutional organization of the church is different in the ghetto than elsewhere. Frazier (1957) points out that 75% of the nearly 500 churches in the Negro community in Chicago were "storefront" churches. These are small "gospel-houses" that hold only a dozen or so people and are virtually small community centers in which people from one or two blocks in a particular area congregate several evenings a week for purposes of gospel singing and socializing. The preacher is generally a layman (75% are not graduates of a seminary). But he is more than a preacher, he is "a leader, a politician, an orator, a 'boss', an intriguer, and idealist" (Davie, 1949, p. 185). The "service" comprises mostly gospel singing and "hell-fire and brimstone" preaching, although the latter seems to be waning. The appeal is to the emotions, spontaniety, unhibited expressiveness, excitement, rhythm, interest in the dramatic, and love of the mysterious and unusual (Davie, 1949, p. 187). The Negroes have participated in their religious worship on a daily

basis as a means of escaping the rigours of reality and finding some pleasures and satisfactions in the world today; whites, however, attend church maily on a weekly basis often as a form of tithe to gain assurance for a place in the hereafter.

The church is more a part of the daily life of the Negro. In part this is due to the fact that it is virtually the only organized institution within the community, and the only institution aside from the Negro press which is controlled by the Negro. It is an educational and a welfare agency. Negroes, denied other outlets have turned to the Church for self-expression, recognition and leadership. There are few service organizations or fraternal clubs. The Church has taken over most of the community projects served by such organizations. It is an approved place for social activities, a forum, an outlet for emotional expression, and provides much of the social contact and entertainment. On the whole, the Negro church supplies escape and consolation. The over-riding importance of this aspect of the Negro social system is that for purposes of functioning within and gaining support of the Negro community, it is useful to work through the churches. "Whatever you want to do in the Negro community, whether it's selling Easter Seals or organizing a non-violent campaign, you've got to do it through the Negro church, or it doesn't get done." (Brink & Harris, 1964, p. 103)

Some Values and Aspirations

Thus far we have been examining general differences between residents of the Negro ghetto and the white community. We shall now state some of the effects of the situation in which the Negro finds himself; some of the important conceptual differences between the Negro lower-class urban, northerner, and the white community. Several authors have suggested that the values of the Negro are similar to those of the members of the white community. The suggestion has been made that inherently the Negro values the

same things as the white but that either he does not know how to attain them or is too exhausted psychologically and physically after coping with the daily fight for existence that there is insufficient energy left to seek these possessions. Undoubtedly there is some truth in this statement. The Negro, as do most people in the United States, values certain material possessions; a new car, new clothes, a comfortable home, etc., along with a good job and education for his children. In general it is difficult to argue with this belief. However, taking such an approach suggests that Negroes would be just like whites if they were given the chance. Unfortunately, this approach obscures many of the important differences that do exist at the present time, and are instrumental in helping to maintain the differences that do exist between the two races.

There is a multitude of evidence that many of the Negro values do differ significantly from those of whites. The white middle-class concern for respectability seems to be less important in the Negro community. Brink and Harris report the results of a nationwide Newsweek poll taken in 1963. 47% of rank and file Negroes and 58% of their leaders reported a willingness to go to jail as a result of civil rights demonstrations. From the point of view of the Negro, going to jail is not necessarily a disgrace. It must also be borne in mind that this was a nationwide survey, sampling all levels of the Negro community. It would be anticipated that lower-class Negroes would be the least concerned about possible incarceration. Unfortunately, there was no corresponding sampling of the white community but it seems relatively certain that except for possibly a few of the younger generation protesters, the white concern with staying out of jail runs rather high. What makes this difference in attitudes of even greater importance is that the leaders were even more ready to accept the "disgrace" of jail than were

the rank and file. Apparently jail is not a shameful blot on the record of the Negro, it has instead become a badge of honor. This attitude may, of course, be related to the frequency with which Negroes have in fact been prosecuted and maltreated under the law and may reflect actual arrest rates. In 1963, 4% of all Negroes reported they had gone to jail in support of civil rights participation. The percentage of leaders who had been jailed was 21%. It would be interesting to discover if lower-class whites also have the same lack of concern over spending time in jail.

Undoubtedly such attitudes are to a large part situationally determined. Had whites been in a position similar to that of the Negroes their attitudes would be somewhat similar. If whites had a cause in which they believed with the same fervor that blacks express for civil rights, they would probably also be more willing to accept incarceration. But this is not the point. What is relevant is that blacks cannot be judged by conventional white middle-class standards of respectability. They have their own ethical standards. What is a mark of respectability in white society does not necessarily have the same meaning in black society. Little is known empirically regarding the black code or codes of ethics and morality. Much has been said about the black lack of acceptance or outright rejection of white morality standards, but little exploration of a positive nature has been done to determine what behaviors do constitute moral or ethical behavior among blacks generally and among specific subgroups of blacks.

There seems to be a distinct difference between the way in which Negroes and whites visualize discrimination and segregation. Myrdal (1964) suggested, and the Newsweek poll substantiated, that whites view discrimination in exactly the opposite manner that Negroes do. The whites place the

highest taboo upon personal relations, most importantly, intermarriage. They are least concerned with Negroes improving their occupational status or working alongside them. Negroes, on the other hand, are most concerned about improving their occupational status and are not as interested in intermarriage with whites or necessarily becoming a part of the white world.

Marx (1967) indicates that 62% of Negroes in his sample reported that they preferred to live in a mostly Negro neighborhood (if well kept up). Only 4% stated a preference to live in a mostly white neighborhood. There is an apparent dilemma here. What the whites fear most from the Negro is not one of the Negroes high priority goals. The actual goals of the Negro, insofar as integration is concerned, are not the ones of which the white society expresses the greatest fears and uses as a rationalization for discrimination and segregation. Knowledge and acceptance of the validity of this difference in goals of desegregation would seem to be a first step in alleviating white misgivings concerning status equality and integration of blacks.

It might be productive to look at some of the Negro aspirations toward work. It was stated earlier that there is considerable apathy among the Negroes and a general rejection of the Puritan ethics which are associated with a work-oriented culture. While there is evidence to support this contention it is interesting to explore deeper into some of the causes of these attitudes and some of their concomitants. It has been suggested that apathy is one of the tools used by Negroes over the past centuries as a form of subtle revenge against his oppressor (Brink & Harris, 1964; Silberman, 1964). He cannot partake of the material values of the white culture so he rejects them rather than giving the white man the satisfaction of seeing him covetous. This theory suggests that his apathy is a sham, that the Negro is really not apathetic and if given the opportunity of actually partaking of the

fruits of the society would quickly shed his disdain of them. Bell (1965) examined some of the aspirations of Negro mothers for their sons. His finding of relevance to us at the moment was that over 50% of lower-class mothers wanted a college education for their sons, and almost as many wanted it for their daughters; that approximately 3 out of 4 believed that any man could hope to earn $10,000 or more a year; and about 80% believed that hard work was necessary for success, rather than playing up to or socializing with the boss.

Smith and Abramson (1962) examined the need achievement of 33 white and 33 Negro high school sophomores matched for age, sex, intelligence, and social status (they were all of Class IV and V on the Hollingshead Index of Social Position), from an Albany New York high school. They discovered that there was no difference between Negroes and whites on achievement motivation as measured projectively. Another interesting finding was that Negroes had significantly higher education and occupational aspirations and valued success more than happiness in their career. There is the definite possibility that the authors were examining a biased sample of Negroes. The lesser motivated students may have already dropped out of high school and only those with high need achievement would be represented in the study. The authors did recognize this possibility and pointed out that they purposely chose subjects from the sophomore year because of the high drop-out rate in the junior and senior years. One still wonders, however, about the extent of prior drop outs. Another aspect of this study which may loom important is that while the subjects were matched for sex there was no breakdown of the comparative achievement orientation and need achievement by sex. Their finding of no significant difference between whites and blacks could have been accounted for by low achievement motivation on the part of the Negro boys and high motivation on the part of the Negro girls, while the achievement

motivation of white boys and girls could have been reversed, or both could indicate similar achievement levels somewhere midway between the two Negro levels. This possibility is of importance as we shall see later.

Dreger and Miller in a literature review (Dreger & Miller, 1960) report that Negro males are more interested in professional occupations than white males and that the median occupation level chosen on a five-point scale was one point higher for Negroes than for whites. It was suggested that Negro males, particularly, were much less realistic in their aspirations than were whites. They seemed to operate more at the fantasy level. One interpretation could be that if Negroes operate at the fantasy level while whites are operating at a more realistic level, one would expect Negroes to rate their aspirations higher than whites do, assuming a constant level of aspiration. As the Negroes rated themselves only at the same level as the whites, then their actual reality aspiration level would be lower. The Negroes may be aspiring for occupations that are so far above them that they have no hope of achieving them. When they are met by the hard facts of reality and the realization occurs that they have no hope of achieving these goals, then withdrawal and apathy could be a logical reaction.

An interesting aspect of the Negro community is the observed fact that, holding income constant, Negroes save a greater percentage of their income than do whites (Simon & Simon, 1968; Myrdal, 1964). Myrdal offers the following explanations for this phenomenon; difficulty for the Negro to obtain credit, better adjustment of the Negroes to low income and the lack of "better times" as a prospect to look forward to. He suggests that "the general notions about Negro improvidence are greatly exaggerated" (Myrdal, 1964, p. 369).

This finding would seem to be contrary to our statement of the rejection of the middle-class puritanism of the Negroes. Also, Glazer (1964) comments on the failure of Negroes to develop a pattern of saving. Even those "better-off" tend to turn earnings into immediate consumption. There may be an explanation for this apparent contradiction if we look at the family structure. We have commented that many lower-class Negro households are headed by a woman and that men, largely as a result of environmental variables, appear to drift in and out of the family, from woman to woman, and in and out of employment, during a large part of their lives. There may be an unconscious bias on the part of many authors to look at the consumption rates of men rather than women in the society. To a large extent income savings figures reflect those of the household, rather than of the individual. Hence, many of the households that contribute to the statistics are those in which there is a female head, while the consumption patterns may reflect male spending behavior. If we can discover a difference between male and famale behavior regarding consumption patterns and attitude structure we may be able to account for this apparent contradiction in the literature. Unfortunately, there is no available data on consumption patterns broken down by sex. We can obtain indirect evidence by examining such behaviors as attitudes to work.

The tendency for women to work on a much more regular basis is well documented in the literature. There are more jobs available for Negro women, there are more Negro women than men enrolled in colleges and universities in the U. S., and often the woman is the sole support of her family. This finding would seem to suggest a difference in work orientation between Negro men and women. Wellman (1968) examines a job training program in California. He reports in part that Negro women job trainees scolded the

Negro men for their disrespectful attitude toward the officials. He noted that the women were always neat and tidy while the men were as a general rule quite sloppy. He states that ".....the differences in clothing and style between the sexes reflect their different orientations toward the dominant society and its values. In the minds of the young women, respect and respectability seemed paramount" (Wellman, 1968, p. 14). The adherence to the dominant white values appeared more obvious in some of the things the girls said to the boys. "Do you all expect to get a job looking the way you do?" "Well, it doesn't matter what you wear as long as it's clean, pressed and tucked in. But hell, you guys don't even shine your shoes." The author goes on to state that "the battle of the sexes in the black community seems to be almost a class conflict." (The Negro woman is in harmony with the major values attached to work and success in our society.) Black men, however, have been estranged from society and a culture has developed around this estrangement--a male Negro culture often antagonistic to the dominant white society. The black woman stands in much the same relation to black men as white society does" (Myrdal, 1964).

This finding could very well explain the apparent contradiction noted above relating to comparative income savings behavior. However, what is more important is the knowledge this gives us in planning the investigation of differential black and white attitudes and behavior. It suggests that we must be concerned with at least three variables, <u>race</u>, <u>class</u> and <u>sex</u>, in our search for conceptual differences between the white and black communities.

It may be worthwhile to mention briefly in passing another aspect of sex relationships. Eldridge Cleaver (1968) and others have commented upon

the black male's ambivalence toward the black female and preference for white women.

> "...as a matter of course, a black growing up in America is indoctrinated with the white race's standard of beauty....It intensified my frustrations to know that I was indoctrinated to see the white woman as more beautiful and desirable than my own black woman." (Cleaver, 1968, p. 10)
>
> . . .
>
> "There is a war going on between the black man and the black woman, which makes her the silent ally, indirectly, but effectively, of the white man." (Cleaver, 1968, p. 162)

If this observation is correct, in the past it has been kept relatively covert, however, there is an indication that recently the situation is changing. Fletcher Knebel (1969) suggests that as the black man becomes more resolute, dominant and self-confident, he becomes more appealing to the white woman "at a time when most white men are becoming blander and more conformist" (p. 77). He states there is an angry rebellion by black women against black men who prefer white women. "For the black man, the black woman is too much like his mother. He sees her as domineering, bossy, a woman who runs things. He wants a desirable, easy, sex companion, and finds her in the white woman" (p. 77). The situation is further compounded, he suggests, in that most of the more educated black girls come from middle-class families who follow the white middle-class morality that white girls are presently rejecting. Hence, white girls are more sexually accessible to black men than are black women.

There is little hard data to support these observations so we can only hold them in reserve and hypothesize on their causes and effects. It would

certainly be a hypothesis worthy of investigation as attitudes and behaviors of black men and women toward each other are of relevance in investigating culture differences between whites and blacks. It is worth mentioning that concommitantly with the contemporary "black is beautiful" and "black power" movements there is a pressure to break up this preference for cross-race sex contacts. Just what effect either trend would have upon the racial situation is problematic. Continued cross-race sex interaction may help to bring about greater racial understanding and acceptance. On the other hand, it may have the effect of toughening the resistance to integration of the hard-nosed anti-misceginationist. The fears of many such whites that blacks only want integration as a means to marry into white families may be seen by them as being more viable.

Social Class Distribution

We turn our attention now to an examination of class differences within the Negro community generally. While there is general agreement that class differentiation does exist, there is some discussion in the literature as to the number of different classes, and the criteria which are basic to the stratification. King (1953) in examining a North Carolina city states there are four distinct social classes; upper, middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower. He also noted that black women make more class distinctions than do Negro men, particularly in the upper and middle classes (women grouped themselves into 6 distinct classes). The upper class was comprised mostly of professional men, college instructors and high school teachers, insurance executives, and professionally trained ministers of the Methodist Church. Middle-class membership included elementary school teachers, nurses, barbers, beauticians, undertakers, small business operators and skilled craftsmen. The lower class was divided generally into "those who are all right;"

domestics, maids, porters, truck drivers, and unskilled workers; while the lower-lower class included those who engage in illicit or "shady" operations, "the good for nothing." and the "care for nothing." (Social class was determined by the Warner techniques of ISC and EP.)[2]

While the King study examined the class structure of the Negro society of a racially mixed southern city, Hill (1943) investigated the class structure of a totally Negro community in Oklahoma, a small rural town of a population of approximately 1,000. He differentiated four classes: the Proprietorial class--local business owners and farm owners and operators; the Professional class--physicians, lawyers, preachers, and teachers; the Laboring class--landless proletariat; and the "Floaters," casual laborers who do not become assimilated into the community social structure.

In investigating the black society in the city of Chicago, Warner (1941) also identified four classes. In the upper class were professions, civil service, and prosperous business men. In the upper-middle class, Warner included professional men with small practices, Pullman porters and dining car waiters, most of the postal employees, and less successful business men. Lower-middle class blacks were mainly tailors, bartenders, hairdressers, barbers, skilled laborers, low-salaried white collar workers and well paid servants. The great mass of the black society in Chicago comprised the lower class. Many were unemployed, casual, non-skilled laborers.

Unlike King, Warner differentiated among the "shady" element of the community (a considerable proportion), and included some in each class level, ranging from the wealthy powerful big-time racketter, to the small-time gangster or street-corner hood. It is interesting in view of what we have said earlier in terms of a lack of a sense of white middle-class respectability on the part of the Negro, that Warner included criminal elements in

each class level. This suggests a different attitude on the part of the Negro community generally to this aspect of white respectability, rather than the rejection being restricted to the lower-class Negro specifically.

Social Class and Skin Color

Frazier (1967) speaks of three basic classes: upper, middle and lower. He also makes the point that it was the existence and development of an increasing middle class (black bourgeoisie) which constituted one of the major dynamics within the black community. We shall look at some of his findings later. At the moment we are most interested in the criteria of class differentiation. Frazier emphasizes the depth of color as a major criterion. He refers to the "brown" middle class, and the "black" proletariat, and suggests that much of the upper class is made up of mulattoes. The idea of skin-color as a major determinant of class has been one of some dispute in the literature. Warner (1941) presents some interesting statistics that seem to support Frazier's contention that skin color is of major importance in determining class membership. Table 1 and 2 are borrowed from his presentation.

As can be seen upper-class males and females contained a higher than expected frequency of "passables" and light skin, and a lower than expected frequency of dark skin Negroes. For instance light skin males comprised 27.03% of his sample of male Negroes, yet constituted 40.5% of the upper-class. The comparable figures for females were 34.4% of the sample, yet 50.0% of the upper class. While dark skin Negroes comprised 40.29% of the male simple there were only 20.3% in the upper class. The comparable figures for females were 30.40% of the sample but only 4.7% of the upper class. These latter figures tend to indicate a finding mentioned elsewhere that it is extremely difficult for a dark skin Negro woman to gain entrance to the upper class. When we look at lower class figures and skin color we find just the opposite effect. 15.4% of males and 16.5% of females in the lower class have

Table 1

Per Cent Distribution of Negroes by Sex and Skin Color

(Warner, 1941, p. 27: Sample Size N = 805)

	Passable	Lightskin	Brownskin	Darkskin	Total
Males	2.46	27.03	30.22	40.29	100.00
Females	4.78	34.42	30.40	30.40	100.00

Table 2

Per Cent Distribution of Negroes by Sex, Skin Color, and Social Class

(Warner, 1941, p. 27: Sample Size N = 805)

Males

	Passable	Lightskin	Brownskin	Darkskin	Total
Upper class	6.3	40.5	32.9	20.3	100.0
Upper Middle	1.9	22.4	36.5	39.2	100.0
Lower Middle	1.3	28.2	28.8	41.7	100.0
Lower Class	1.5	15.4	20.0	63.1	100.0

Females

	Passable	Lightskin	Brownskin	Darkskin	Total
Upper Class	6.2	50.0	39.1	4.7	100.0
Upper Middle	4.2	48.4	31.6	15.8	100.0
Lower Middle	5.2	29.2	33.1	32.5	100.0
Lower Class	3.5	16.5	17.6	62.4	100.0

light colored skin, whereas 63.1% of males and 62.4% of females with dark skin are in the lower class.

A further interesting aspect of these figures is that the lower-middle-class percentages are most similar to the distribution of skin coloring represented in the sample. In other words skin color seems to have no effect on class designation only in the lower-middle class but does effect class membership in the three other designated classes.

There is further evidence of the importance of skin color. Edwards (1959) investigated various aspects of the Negro professional class. Table 3 summarizes some of his data relevant to skin color. The data indicated that for brown skin Negroes the representation in each of the four professions was close to what would be expected statistically. However, there is an over-representation of light colored dentists and an under-representation of light colored teachers and an under-representation of dark colored dentists and an over-representation of dark colored teachers.

Edwards also presented evidence that both light color and dark color skin is disappearing in the professions. However, rather than explaining this tendency in terms of discrimination he accounted for the findings on the basis of intermarriage.

"A brown skinned Negro can be 'all things to all men,' shifting back and forth between the light skinned groups and the dark skinned groups. His lot appears to be the happiest in the Negro society." Sutherland goes on to suggest that:

> "Not only do 'black' persons fare poorly in social judgments but also Negroes who are 'yellow' or 'white' do not win favor as readily as those who are brown. Apparently the whiter shades are not favored because they suggest a complete identification with the white pattern and a desertion of the Negro racial type and the Negro social world." (Sutherland, 1942, p. 63)

Table 3

Per Cent Distribution According to Color and Professional Group

(Edwards, 1959, p. 109: Sample Size N = 300)

Color of Respondant	Total	Physicians	Dentists	Lawyers	Teachers
Light	24.1	22.3	34.8	23.6	17.4
Brown	62.1	64.4	56.5	61.1	65.2
Dark	13.8	13.3	8.7	15.3	17.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Contrary evidence regarding the importance of skin color was gathered by Glenn (1963) who reviewed 16 prestige classification studies. He discovered that the criteria for prestige were as listed in Table 4. Education, occupation and wealth were the most often cited criteria of prestige in these studies, while skin color was rated fairly low. Furthermore, these studies covered a time span from 1899-1960. The author could find no discernible shift in importance of the various criteria.

Glenn states that

> "....formal education has been the most important prestige criterion among American Negroes during recent decades and has been a more important basis of prestige among Negroes than among whites....This can be accounted for by (1) greater differentiation of Negroes in educational attainment and (2) greater occupational utility to Negroes of additional education at some levels" (p. 645).

One important factor in endeavoring to assess the importance of skin color as a major determinant of class is the lack of any confidence in the total distribution of skin color among Negroes. There is also the problem of classification. Neither Warner nor Edwards used the same categories. However, by collapsing Warner's "passable" category onto that of light skin" we can compare the relative findings for the two studies. (Table 5)

As can be seen there is very little agreement regarding the distribution of the various skincolors. Edwards' estimate of the skin color distribution does not agree with either Warner's total sample or his upper-class sample. Until we do know the total distribution of skin color among all Negroes, it is difficult to make any generalizations regarding the importance of skin color as a measure of status.

Table 4

Negro Prestige Criteria: The Number of Times each Criterion was Mentioned as a Major Determinant of Prestige. A Survey of 16 Studies from 1899-1960 (Glenn, 1963, p. 646).

Criterion	Total
Education	15
Occupation	14
Wealth or Income	10
Respectability or Morality	8
Refinement or "Culture"	5
Skin Color or White Ancestry	4
Family Background	4
Property Ownership	2

Table 5

Per Cent Distribution of Negroes by Skin Color and Study

(Warner, 1941, p. 27 Sample Size Total N = 805)

(Edwards, 1959, p. 109 Sample Size N = 300)

	Lightskin	Brownskin	Darkskin
Warner Total Sample (Male & Female)	34.35	30.31	35.34
Warner Upper Class (Male & Female)	51.50	36.00	12.50
Edwards' Total Sample	24.1	62.1	13.8

What further compounds the question of the importance of skin color is that light skinned Negroes have had a different history than the dark skinned which may account for the present situation. The light skinned Negroes were given a favored place during early slavery as they were preferred for work as household servants. As such they were often set free or remembered financially in the will of the master, and many of them either were given or could purchase their freedom before general emancipation came about. As such they formed the basis of what was to become a Negro aristocracy. The wealth that accrued from this favored position could account today for the greater ability of the light skinned Negroes to attain the requisite education in order to gain entry to the more respected occupations. The importance of light skin may be confounded as a variable by the history of greater wealth attached to it. If this is the case, data like Warner's and Edwards' representing only distribution of various skin colors in the stratification system does not necessarily reflect a more favorable attitude of the general Negro populace to lighter skin color.

An extremely important question casts some doubt upon the validity of these findings. Most of these data suffers from age. In light of the present "black is beautiful" movement it becomes highly problematic just how important skin color is as a determinant of status. What effect it may have could very well be a residual one reflecting the historical tendency to favor Negroes with light skin. There may well be a reversal, particularly within the Negro community, regarding the prestige of skin shade. At best we can only infer that skin shade has had an effect historically in processes of Negro stratification. What effect, if any, skin shade still has as a prestige criterion must await more refined empirical research. It is a variable of which we should be aware and the relative importance of which we should investigate.

Social Class Differences

It may be interesting now to turn from this discussion of the criteria for stratification to look at some of the differences that exist in the various classes and how the class structure and the pressures of the white society influence interclass interaction.

Much of our previous discussion dealing with white-black differences earlier is applicable to the lower class urban, Negro, therefore, we shall be concerned now with the middle and upper classes. For purposes of the remainder of this paper we shall assume a simple trichotomous class structure--upper, middle, and lower classes--as there has been virtually no work which examines differences in behavior on a finer scale.

Little has been reported regarding the relevant sizes of each class in Negro society. Davie (1949) suggests that there is a breakdown of 80% low, 15% middle and 5% upper class. This is compared to figures of 40%, 40% and 20% respectively in the white socity. Frazier (1968) has stressed the importance of the developing middle class in his analysis of the black bourgeoisie. While it is growing rapidly it is by no means anywhere close to the size of the white middle class proportionately. In 1950 the United States Census figures revealed that professionals, technicians, managers, officials and proprietors, clerical, sales, craftsmen, foremen, etc.--those generally considered to constitute the middle and upper classes, comprised 16.3% of all employed Negro males. This percentage would be considerably reduced when we include the number of unemployed Negro males. Faunce (1968) reports that in 1965, 25.3% of all Negro teenagers were unemployed. To this figure we can add the adult male unemployed and also the "disappearing male," discussed earlier, who do not appear in any census or unemployment figures. Thus, we further decrease the percentage of the total Negro population who are members of the more advantaged classes.

Further class membership data can be gathered by examining income figures. Frazier reports that of all Negroes with incomes in 1949, only about 21% were earning in excess of $2,000 per year and less than 1% were earning in excess of $5,000 annually. Twelve years later the situation had improved somewhat. In 1961, six out of every ten Negro families had an income of less than $4,000 a year. However, it must be remembered that incomes generally rose considerably during that period. Also, the income figures given by Faunce are applicable only to individual wage-earners, while the latter figures quoted by St. Clair Drake (1968) are those of total family income. It seems apparent, that the economic situation of the black population generally has not improved greatly during the past decade. In spite of the fact that Frazier reports the proportion of Negroes in clerical and kindred occupations has more than doubled from 1940 to 1950 and there are proportionate advances in other occupations, it must be clearly understood that the relative size of the Negro middle and upper classes is still extremely small, probably not in excess of 15%-20% of the total Negro population.

One of the major differences between this group and the lower classes is the structure of the Negro family. Licensed and legal marriage is the norm compared with the tendency toward casual, common-law liaisons in the lower class ghettos. There is also greater stability of marriage and the family structure is consequently mainly patriarchal compared to the trend toward a matriarchal society in the lower class. This factor alone probably has tremendous consequences for the personality development and socialization of the members of this group. Davie reports also that upper class Negro women do not work, whereas middle class sometimes do. There is furthermore considerable stability of residence in the middle and upper classes. This group

is also politically and socially conservative. There is a high emphasis upon respectability and the virtues of the Protestant ethic and conspicuous consumption. There is also evidence of assimilation into the American national culture.

Parker (1964) reports that:

> "Negroes in the higher status positions tend to have values more similar to those of the white middle class, stronger desires to associate with whites, more internalization of negative attitudes toward other Negroes, and relatively weaker ethnic identification than individuals in lower status positions" (p. 102).

This data was gathered by means of interviews of a proportionate and stratified sample of 1489 Negroes age 20-60 in Philadelphia. His data adds empirical support to much of that reported by Frazier which we shall look at now. It is to be noted that Frazier deals specifically with what he refers to as the "black bourgeoisie" which may include only the middle class and may not be totally relevant to the very small Negro upper class.

While at first glance the black bourgeoisie may appear to be closer to the white middle class, Frazier reveals some pentrating differences in his analysis of the black middle class. He states:

> "The black bourgeoisie has been uprooted from its 'racial tradition' and as a consequence has no cultural roots in either the Negro or the white world. In seeking to conform to bourgeois ideals and standards of behavior, this class in the Negro community has sloughed off the genteel tradition of the small upper class....(and) ....has rejected the folk culture of the Negro masses....As a consequence of their isolation, the majority of the black bourgeoisie live in a cultural vacuum and their lives are devoted largely to fatuities" (p. 98).

While they are cast adrift from their own people, they are still not accepted by the white society and hence suffer even greater problems of identity and insecurity than their lower-class brothers. In a type of over compensation they are prone to show extreme conspicuous consumption. This striving for wealth often leads to the kinds of behaviors that are self-defeating with respect to their quest for respectability. For example, Negro doctors are often arrested and imprisoned for performing illegal abortions or dealing in narcotics (Frazier, 1967). Such illegal practices coupled with the acceptance of many "shady" characters who are able to literally purchase their way into the society has led to the lowering of "respectable morality" within the Negro middle-class and less acceptance by the white community.

Rather than coming to the support of the Negro lower class, the black bourgeoisie purposely avoids them and contributes to the oppression of the low class. The low class "nigger" reminds them of their own ancestry, a fact they are endeavoring to forget in their striving for acceptance by the white world, and they are consequently often more prejudiced and discriminatory than their white counterparts. The black middle class is often the major barrier to housing integration particularly where low cost developments are planned on the fringes of middle-class communities.

Frazier emphasizes the importance of money as a means of entree to Negro "society." Family background has little significance. He does suggest that the remnants of skin color stratification has resulted in a color snobbishness but it is of much less importance than money. Income also supercedes the prestige attached to a particular occupation. Wealth is all-important within the bourgeoisie in order to permit the member to take part in ostentatious consumption.

> For the "socialite" life has become a succession of carnivals" "The exclusion of middle-class Negroes from participation in the general life of the American community has affected their entire outlook on life. It has meant that whites did not take Negroes seriously....It has tended to encourage a spirit of irresponsibility or an attitude of 'play' or make-believe among them. Consequently, Negroes have 'played' at conducting their schools, at running their businesses, and at practicing their professions....Playing, then, has become the one activity which the Negro may take seriously" (Frazier, 1968, p. 169-170).

Many Negroes take their recreation much more seriously than their work. This is perhaps true of Negroes generally rather than just of the middle class, however, the latter can more adequately afford the costs of such recreation. Frazier goes on to state that one of the major absorbing recreational pursuits of the Negro "society" is that of poker playing. It has become a mania not just for the men, but also for the women. Poker games often last throughout the entire weekend. Poker has become more than a recreation, it is the one absorbing interest for the members of "society." Some middle-class Negroes assert that poker playing is the one thing that stops them from going crazy. "Therefore, the role of poker as a "religious" force in the lives of the black bourgeoisie cannot be discounted" (Frazier, 1968, p. 175).

There is some empirical evidence which appears to contradict much of Frazier's analysis of the black bourgeoisie. Marx (1967) has related militancy to a number of sociological and psychological variables. His study involved the interviewing of 1,119 adult Negroes sampled from various metropolitan areas. He discovered that militancy was positively correlated

with indices of increasing income, education and occupational prestige. He also goes on to show that the socially mobile (in either direction) are more militant than the socially static. Combining his indicators of social class into an index of social class, Marx shows that there is increasing militancy with increasing social class, and social privilege. As militancy relates to the desire for more rapid integration and breakdown of the status quo with subsequent improvement of the Negro position it appears that some of Frazier's analysis of the black middle class as being isolationist and embracing conventional white middle-class standards may not be totally accurate.

Partial explanation for the contradictions may be accounted for as a result of changes within the black community. Frazier's analysis was written in 1957 and based largely on subjective material that was gathered prior to that time. As a result much of his data relates to the pre-civil rights era (accepting 1954 as beginning of the civil rights era). Marx, on the other hand, presented his study in 1967 based on objective interview data gathered in 1964, one decade after the onset of the civil rights era. Much of the difference could be accounted for in terms of a changing attitude of the middle class as a result of the differing social atmosphere. As Marx has shown that the higher the class membership, the greater the amount of actual and symbolic social participation, it is easily seen that the middle class were more aware of the changing atmosphere. This may have resulted in a reflection of the new ethos.

Marx goes on to suggest a further explanation for the differences between his findings and those of Frazier. He suggests that "recently arrived Negroes rarely have the large stake in the economic system which Frazier and others have suggested makes some members of the Negro Elite almost as

resistant to positive racial change as the white elite" (p. 60). He uses the finding of the greater militancy of the socially mobile to support this idea. Marx further observed that home ownership reduced militancy as compared to those who were renting their home. Also, those earning over $6,000 a year were less militant than those earning between $4,000 and $6,000.

There is, however, a very large problem with Marx's data. First it is five years old and militancy among the blacks has changed drastically since the early 1960's. Another major problem relates to his "index of militancy." By today's standards this militant appears almost as a conservative. His index was more a measure of acceptance of change through legal institutional channels as exemplified by the Civil Rights Movement. Certainly a supporter of passive resistance, which was the major philosophy of the Civil Rights Movement, would not be classified as a militant today. Here again, we are faced with the lack of relevant, recent data by which to make a more valid analysis.

It is worthwhile mentioning also that Marx's study does not really provide evidence totally contradictory of Frazier's suggestion of hostility of the middle class towards the lower class. The expressed militancy of the middle class may very well be an indication of their desire to better themselves more rapidly than the current pace, but while doing so the gulf between them and the lower class could very well widen. Marx did not examine attitudes of the middle or upper classes towards the lower class. This information would have been a useful adjunct to this study.

Bernard (1966) offers a most interesting hypothesis regarding Negro social structure. She indicates the existence of two separate and distinct cultures comprising the Negro population. She refers to the "acculturated"

and the "externally adapted" Negroes. Furthermore, both groups are represented in all strata of the black society. It is not a case of the middle class being acculturated to white society and accepting their values, while the lower class reject white values, but rather samples of both types are in evidence in all levels of black society and failure to recognize this fact and control for it in data gathering and analysis can only lead to the kind of confusion that exists as a result of the conflicting evidence.

According to Bernard the "acculturated" Negroes have accepted white middle-class morality and values and live lives of "respectability." The "externally adapted," reject the white standards and express value patterns and behaviors that are deviant from the white standards. Basic to her analysis is the assumption that blacks are behaving always with reference to white values, either accepting or rejecting them. There is no discussion in her argument of the possibility of lack of concern with the white values. There would seem to be an area for belief that at least some blacks do not care one way or the other about white values and have developed their own set of values. The important aspect of the hypothesis, however, is the attempt to explain a large amount of contradictory evidence in the literature in one concept. "Because this concept of two cultures has been ignored in most research, or confused with the concept of class as measured by income, we cannot state the relative prevalence of each culture nor its relationship to other variables" (p. 35).

Bernard gathers data from a large number of sources in order to describe and delineate the various aspects of these two cultures. She indicates the existence of the white evaluation of conventional and unconventional blacks at all levels of class. There are the "shadies," the "fast set," and the "gentlemen racketeers" among the higher income levels,

and the "runners," "hustlers" and "unsocialized" among the lower income level. In all fairness it must be mentioned that Warner (1941) referred to this phenomenon some years ago when he identified various criminal elements included at each status level in the black community, however, he did not carry this idea out to the extent that Bernard has done.

Bernard suggests that the "acculturated" and the "externally adapted" today are representatives of different social experiences dating back to slavery. She refers to the old bifurcation of free Negroes and slaves and the distinction between house slaves and field slaves. The suggestion appears to be in her argument that these traditions from the past which developed from divergent experiences have resulted in the development of these two distinct cultures. She never completely and clearly delineates this but the intimation appears to be there as she traces different behavior styles to these divergent experiences.

One other aspect of class differentiation bears comment at this time. There is a continuing discourse between those who feel that the problems of the Negro are all of a class type and those who insist the problem is one of race. There is at least one study that casts some interesting insights into the dual aspects of the problem and indicates there are both class and race distinctions of importance. Bloom (1965) sampled a sufficiently large and varied populatinn of Negroes and whites in order to examine class and race distinctions separately controlling for each. He identified three class levels based mainly on education, income and occupational criteria for both whites and Negroes and examined various attitudes and behaviors for both "races." Some of the variables he examined included (1) the presence or absence of a father in the home, (2) educational aspirations for the child, both by parents and by children, (3) status aspirations of both parents and

children, and (4) perception of satisfaction regarding upward mobility. In all these cases there were both significant class effects and significant race effects.

This study and the preceding discussion indicates the complexity of the problem and the need for adopting multi-variable approaches in future investigations. There is, of course, no simple approach to investigation just as there is no simple solution to the "race" problem in the United States.

Today's research findings become tomorrow's history. There is no clearer support for this statement than in its applicability to the black society. A large amount of this review may be already out of date as a result of the extremely fluid situation that exists in Black America today. There are undoubtedly vast differences between the attitudes and behaviors of the young blacks as compared to the middle age and older. To a large degree the differentiation is almost cultural. Blacks of today are not the same as the blacks of yesterday. Along with this change comes a corresponding change in the institutional structure of society. For example, it becomes questionable just how important the religious structure of the past is to the present day black society. As short a time as a decade ago the majority of the black leaders were still emerging through the structural hierarchy of the church. Today this seems to be no longer true. Leaders are emerging from the university campuses and from the ghetto streets.

Very few of the findings reported can be automatically expected to remain relatively stable. In a fluid situation such as that existing today it becomes increasingly important to verify each conclusion, each hypothesis and each previous belief by careful ongoing empirical research, with particular awareness of the changing situation.

This review has attempted to analyze some areas of critical difference between black and white America, concepts on which to focus research attention. It is in no way intended as a definitive statement of the current status quo. Indeed such a statement is relatively impossible in view of the fluidity of the situation. Hopefully this review will serve as a basis from which new research will emerge, if for no other reason than the reader questions or violently disagrees with any or all of its content.

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Footnotes

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2. E. P. (Evaluated Participation) and I. S. C. (Index of Status Characteristics) are two of the methods Warner used as a means of measuring social prestige and stratification. E. P. is determined by having informants give judgments on the number and nature of status levels in the community and assigning individuals to each of the status levels. I. S. C. is an empirically devised scale which correlates highly with E. P. It consists of a differential weighing of four characteristics (occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area). See W. L. Warner et al., Social Class in America. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949.